# ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

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# ANGLO - EGYPTIAN CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE IN EGYPT.

BEFORE leaving England for India and China, Colonel Gordon left in our hands a copy, in Arabic, of the above-named Convention of 4th August, 1877, together with the Khedive's decree of the 17th of the same month. Upon this document he wrote the words, "A copy of this Convention and Decree ought to be posted on every public building in Egypt."

Acting upon his suggestion the Anti-Slavery Society has gone to considerable expense in lithographing and printing a very large number of copies of the Arabic documents, a translation of which may be seen in the *Reporter* for Nov., 1877, pp. 306-8.

About 200 copies have been forwarded to various correspondents of the Society in Egypt, and Her Majesty's Consul-General in Cairo. Application was also made to Earl Granville, H.M. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to request that instructions might be forwarded to Consular Agents in Egypt to circulate copies.

To this application his Lordship returned the following courteous reply:—

" Foreign Office,
" September 21st, 1880.

"SIR,—I am directed by Earl Granville to inform you in reply to your letter of the 2nd. inst. that his Lordship has no objection to forward to Her Majesty's Consuls in Egypt copies of the Anglo-Egyptian Anti-Slave Trade Convention of the 4th of August, 1877, with the Khedive's decree of the 17th of the same year, with instructions to distribute them as they may consider proper and useful if you will furnish his Lordship with a supply of copies for the purpose.

"His Lordship cannot, however, instruct them to have them posted in conspicuous places throughout the Khedive's dominions. "I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"The Secretary to the Anti-Slavery Society, New Broad Street."

A large supply of the Arabic document was immediately forwarded to the Foreign Office, and Lord Granville was reminded that, according to the terms of the Convention, England has a right to demand the publication of the Convention and the accompanying Decree throughout the land of Egypt.

RECEPTION OF THE DOCUMENT IN EGYPT.

Letters of acknowledgment were received from various correspondents.

Dr. Schweinfurth, the great African traveller, thus writes:—

" Alexandria, 28th Sept., 1880.

"MY DEAR SIR,—On my return to Egypt I find your letter, with enclosures. I feel myself flattered thereby. It has long ap-

peared to me that the greatest publicity ought to be given throughout Egypt to the Anglo-Egyptian Slave-Trade Convention. It is a desideratum of the highest importance. If you will provide me with more copies, I will do my utmost to spread them abroad, so far as I can legitimately do so.

"On all my botanical excursions—in the villages, in the Sheiks' residences, in the Greek shops, &c.—I will circulate them with the greatest pleasure.

"Properly speaking, ENGLAND HAS A RIGHT TO DEMAND THE OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION OF THIS DOCUMENT. Ignorance on this question is still inconceivably great. In Syria, especially in Damascus, is there need of such a Treaty. Domestic slavery is there carried on with great cruelty. Slaves are flogged, and their lives are often in jeopardy. This I have seen myself.

"I will shortly write to you again. With high regard

"I am, yours very truly,

"(Signed) G. SCHWEINFURTH."
We have also received very cordial letters
from Dr. Dutrieux, the well-known Belgian

from Dr.Dutrieux, the well-known Belgian explorer; Jules Sakakini, and others.
Mr. Gottfried Roth, the intrepid young

Mr. Gottfreied Roth, the intrepld young Swiss teacher in the American Mission School at Assiout, writes to us that he has distributed all the copies we sent him—some of them to slave-dealers. "There are over thirty-eight slave-dealers in this town known to me, and I wish to give to every one a copy. Around Assiout and down to Cairo, and up to the first Cataract, the number of slave-dealers amounts to thousands. I am now drawing another map showing how this country is enveloped in a net of dealers in human beings. When it is finished I will send it to you.

"Many slaves have been brought down to the valley of the Nile during the past few months. The slaves that were hidden in the oasis were sent to the borders of the desert and sold around here and in Lower Egypt. A slave was put in a sack laden on a camel, and brought by daylight into Assiout. I believe that is not the only case of this mode of importing slaves. Is it not time that all those who keep eunuchs should be punished? Forty boys have been mutilated lately, and these cruel men did not shrink from mutilating the brother of an African chieftain whom they disliked.

Many travellers will come to this country next winter. They might gather much news concerning slavery on their journeys between the first and second Cataracts, specially through their native servants. Thus every traveller who visits Egypt might be useful to the poor slaves and contribute valuable information in order to help to put down this horrible traffic."

This latter suggestion of Mr. Roth appears to be a very good one. We commend it to the attention of all travellers visiting Egypt. The Society is still sending out Arabic copies of the Convention. Perhaps some of our readers would feel inclined to help with special contributions towards this object.

AFFIXING OF THE DOCUMENT TO PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN EGYPT.

One of our correspondents in Alexandria writes, under date October 15th, that he had applied to the Acting-Consul General in Cairo, Mr. Cookson, requesting him to use his influence with the Egyptian Ministry to obtain the authorisation necessary for affixing the Convention of 1877 on the doors of all the local administrations and public buildings in Egypt, from whom he had received the following satisfactory reply:—

"H.B.M.'s Agency and Consulate-General in Egypt. "Cairo, October 11, 1880.

"SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 6th Oct., I beg to inform you that I have ascertained that copies of the Slave-trade Convention of 1877 have, by order of the Egyptian Government, been affixed to the offices of the Director-General of the Egyptian Customs and of the Khediveh Company at Alexandria, and that general orders have been given by the Egyptian Government

for the same to be done throughout the provinces.

"I am, Sir,
"Your obedient servant,
"(Signed) Charles A. Cookson,"

Our correspondent further informs us that copies had already been affixed to the Egyptian Post Office, Egyptian railways, the Bureau of the Judiciary Reform, English Ramlè railways, and several other establishments.

# COLONEL GORDON AND THE SLAVE-TRADE IN EGYPT.

Our readers will be glad to learn that Golonel Gordon has just arrived in England, where he will meet with a hearty welcome from all who wish well to the poor slave. A letter received from him during his voyage home, and printed in the Times, contains much interesting information on the slave-trade in Egypt, and is now reprinted for the benefit of such of our readers as have not already seen it. The remarks contained in the Times' leader thereon are so good and so true that we willingly reproduce them here, though at the same time we are ourselves advocates of the policy expressed in the short Editorial of the Echo of 16th Oct., the sentiments of which we fully endorse. We feel sure that the noble nature of Colonel Gordon would feel greater satisfaction in putting down the crying evils of the slave trade than in watching the frontier against inroads from Zulus, Basutos, or other native races, who may have been driven into disaffection and rebellion by the wrong-headed policy of Sir Bartle Frere and his coadjutors at the Cape.

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

SIR,—In the absence of the Secretary, I beg to forward you the following letter from Colonel Gordon.

At this critical moment, when Europe has taken the Ottoman power in hand, the fons et origo mali, the fount of slavery and the slave-trade, it will be difficult to gain public attention to the miseries of Moslem rule inflicted by Egypt. Nevertheless, the wretched condition of the territories over which she has extended her rule will be seen to have claims not less strong upon Europe than those which are now being pressed upon Turkey.

Yours truly,
EDMUND STURGE.
British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,
55, New Broad Street, E.C., Oct. 7.

" Red Sea, Sept. 29.

"MY DEAR MR. ALLEN,—On my return from China I heard of the institution at Assicut of the administration for the suppression of the slave-trade. This administration is to cost

£14,000 a-year. Now, as Assiout is 300 miles from Cairo, and the districts where the slavehunters are at work are 3,000 miles from Cairo, any captures made at Assiout mean simply the handing over of slaves from individuals to the Egyptian authorities; it can have no effect on the capture of the slaves; and in my opinion, when once sent away from their homes, it would be better for the slaves to remain with their original masters than that they should be taken possession of by the Egyptian authorities. The slave-hunting must be stopped at the source. Our Consul-General reports the arrival of caravans of slaves to the Egyptian Government; and then the latter are wonderfully active, and place at Assiout this administration, which apparently satisfies our Consul-General, I can imagine the hilarity with which the Egyptian Government greet our gullibility. If the Khedive is sincere in his wish to suppress slave-hunting, why does he not have posted in every conspicuous place in Egypt and the Soudan copies of the Slave Convention and Decree of 1877? They have never been made known to the people, but to satisfy Europe they have been put in the European papers.

"While passing through the Red Sea I heard that an Egyptian official was starting from Massowah to annex the Dankali coast, and to occupy the Guardafui promontory. Now these lands never belonged to either Turkey or Egypt; the inhabitants have been independent for centuries to this time. While we are liberating nations in Europe, we are allowing the extension of Egyptian rule over these countries, which are bitterly hostile to Egypt. This extension means misery to the peoples. It means an expenditure of some £50,000 yearly, which sum must come from Cairo, and be deducted from the moneys due to the creditors of Egypt. It blockades Abyssinia most completely from the outer world, and all this not in the interests of Egypt or the Soudan, but simply in those of a set of parasitical pashas, who are foreigners in Egypt. Have the Government of Egypt governed what they possess now so well as to give them a claim to further extension?

"The Guardafui Somali tribes will, I do not doubt, hold their own against the Egyptians, and the more so as we have lately acknowledged them independent in making a treaty with them.

"Slaves continue to pass from the vicinity of Zeila. Our cruisers are useless to prevent their passing; only lately the boats of Her Majesty's ship Seagull had positive notice that herds of slaves were at Richeta; but the crews could not land, and so the slaves passed over at night. Aboubeer and his family are the heads of this trade. It is useless exposing our seamen to the climate in order to be the laughing-stock of these astute creatures. Happily the French have recently occupied Obokh, and the Italians have occupied Assab, and we may hope that they will stop this traffic.

"The pashas have no right to the Damkli coast. They have spread misery enough, and Europe ought to have seen enough of the magicantern slides the Khedive and his pashas have been exhibiting in the way of decrees, which are virtually dead letters when not well looked after by the Controllers.

"I will believe in the regeneration of Egypt when I hear that the slave-hunting in the Soudan is finished (which the Khedive has the power to stop), when there is an assembly of native Egyptians governing the country in the place of prahas, and when the decrees are truly carried out instead of being, except under European control, dead letters, merely intended for European credulity, and when a reliable, detailed, supervised budget of expenses and receipts for the Soudan as well as Egypt is published.

"I dare say it may be the general impression that during the time that I was in the Egyptian service I extended its territory. This is not the case. I merely consolidated what Egypt possessed, and was always pressing my friend Ismail Pasha to evacuate Darfour and other countries which are utterly useless to Egypt. I expect, however, by this time they are desert.

"The Egyptian Government strenuously objects to submit the budget of revenue and expenditure of the Soudan and Egypt to public investigation. It publishes a statement en bloc, which may be worth the paper which it is printed on and gives us no details.

"The districts of Equator, Bar el Gazelle, Senheit, Harar, Zeila, and Berbera, are governed at the rate of a deficit of at least £150,000 a year, while the annexation of the Dankali coast will add some £40,000 to this deficit. If any advantage were accruing to the Egyptians or the natives of these lands, there would be reason to retain them; but it is a misery to the inhabitants and a drain on Lower Egypt to keep them, while it is unjust

to the creditors, who have a right to every pound in excess of legitimate expenditure.

"During my service in Egypt, Cairo never supplied any funds to the Soudan. Since I left, large sums are given for its government. This would be right if any check were maintained over the expenditure, for then these useless districts would be evacuated. As it is, this perpetuates the miseries of the natives at the cost of the creditors.

"I have in a previous letter mentioned that at least two-thirds of the population of Darfour have been led into slavery.

"Believe me, yours sincerely "C. G. GORDON."

The following excellent leader accompanied the insertion of Colonel Gordon's letter in the *Times* of October 12, with very much of which we heartily concur:—

"We regret that Colonel Gordon could not have persuaded himself to test his gifts for the unaccustomed sphere of councillor instead of doer. In Indian administration there was room for a mind like his with its perfect knowledge of Asiatic character and its absolute detachment from traditionary prejudices. But the acceptance of a private secretaryship by one trained to be a great general and a great satrap was necessarily an experiment. He who had been educated to recognise no bar to the execution of a policy except his personal doubt of its wisdom could not, without a strange reluctance and hesitation, have condescended to cast his advice upon the waters in the hope that some fragments might reach their proper destination at last. As he could not be working for Great Britain at Calcutta or Simla, Englishmen will have been glad to learn from our statement of yesterday that he is returning to live among them at home. His is too rare an organisation to be left to wear itself out in admonishing mandarins and striving to stem the tide of African barbarism. Within the vast area of the British Empire there ought to be scope enough and to spare for energies and foresight like his. Along the wild Indian border, in Zululand and Basutoland, in a dozen half-developed colonies, he might raise monuments of his sagacity and his benevolence less glorious than in the past, but more permanent. Already he has done sufficient to prove that the . days of romantic adventure are not at an end for faculties able to cope with opportunities. The deeds of the "Ever Victorious Army" could

not be matched in the pages of Froissart for the individual perils encountered and surmounted. Transplanted to the lonely regions of the Upper Nile, the same powers of head and heart achieved as splendid results. Yet the narrative we printed yesterday of the Duke of Genoa's observations of Chinese misery and decay, added to a multitude of similar evidence, shows how evanescent in such a quarter are the fruits even of exploits like Colonel Gordon's. His victories left a clear field for the operation of peace and order; misgovernment has kept the country as waste and squalid as rebel domination had made it. In the Soudan it might have been hoped that the embarrassments, financial and political, from which his rule delivered Egypt, and the sympathy it won for his Egyptian suzerains, would have secured a term, at any rate, of accordant policy after his departure. The letter he has addressed to the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society demonstrates how temporary is the influence of the most commanding personal authority in face of the selfishness and cupidity of a régime of Pashas.

"Colonel Gordon is less considerate than he might be for the difficulties of the reigning Khedive's position. The efforts he is making to meet them might, we think, have been more cordially recognised. Tewfik Pasha has had to take circumstances as he found them. The family of Mehemet Ali is a family itself of Pashas, and is obliged for the time, if it would govern at all, to govern by Pashas. When Tewfik succeeded to his principality he inherited not merely a throne, but a policy. Powerful Turks had to be conciliated. It will have been represented to him as impossible without a confession of weakness to withdraw within the natural frontier of Egypt. Colonel Gordon himself had experience of the obstacles in the way of unravelling the skein which the desperate ambition of Ismail had knotted on the Abyssinian confines. A primary condition of internal and external tranquillity was the reduction of the State budget to dimensions approaching or promising future equilibrium-Colonel Gordon is sceptical of the endeavours which have been made towards such an end. We must, however, express our belief that, so far as they have gone, they exhibit no signs of insincerity or fictitiousness. No intolerance of extravagance in the Ministers of an Oriental dominion is of any worth unless the example be set by the Prince. Such evidence of good

faith, it is indisputable, has been given by Tewfik at Cairo and Alexandria. But, while we deprecate barsh judgments upon the heir of many improvident years, we are sorry to be unable to contest the justice of Colonel Gordon's criticisms upon the natural issue of the policy he analyses. To the Dankali and the promontory of Guardafui the Khedive can make no better title than to the Malabar Coast and Cape Horn. Egypt is a territory created in its present state by the European Powers. Though its boundaries may not be very exactly defined, they assuredly cannot be stretched to include vague regions in Central Africa. Neither the interests of Egypt nor those of the menaced country could, as Colonel Gordon shows, be promoted by the contemplated annexation in a way to excuse the original default of right. Death and slavery and desolation follow in the train of Mohammedan expeditions into Africa. Those are the chief contributions which a successful invasion would be sure to exact from the Somalis towards the proposed change in their allegiance. For what more is needed to defray the cost of the enterprise, as Colonel Gordon indicates, the Egyptian taxpayer and the European creditor will have to be jointly responsible. Colonel Gordon can point his warning of the inevitable consequences of these insane encroachments upon independent tribes by the existing impoverishment of a country which he, as he explains, did not annex, but consolidated for the Khedive's dynasty. Administering the Soudan and Darfour for the good of their populations, and consulting that alone, he yet made not a single call for resources on the Cairo Treasury. Under a rule which has carried into hopeless slavery two-thirds of the people of a wide and fertile region, Egypt and its creditors are compelled to pay for the riveting of a terrible yoke upon others a yearly tribute of £150,000. There is no need to suppose that the land yields no profits; it is certain that the State reaps nothing but continual deficits. It is for the European controllers of Egyptian finances to examine what foundation there is for Colonel Gordon's censures of the illusory character of the annual statements of revenue and expenditure which, he alleges, disguise this insolvency of a wealthy province. That which comes within the more immediate jurisdiction of public European opinion is the solemn accusation he further brings against the Cairo Government of a deliberate fraud in its relation to the slavetrade. The ex-Khedive, whom, it will be observed, Colonel Gordon honours with the name of his 'friend,' if he published in Europe decrees for the suppression of the trade which were never promulgated at its seat, at all events testified to his sincerity by the autocracy he vested in Colonel Gordon. The new Khedive's Government has left, like the old, the ordinances of its predecessor, 'dead letters,' 'magic lantern slides,' for the amusement of the civilised world. In addition, it has substituted for the strong-willed, keen-eyed, generous English soldier a bureau two thousand seven hundred miles from the districts where the slave-hunters are at work. If the kidnappers are to be suffered to pursue their odious vocation, we can well credit Colonel Gordon's indignant assurance that 'it would be better for the slaves to remain with their original masters than that they should be taken possession of by the Egyptian authorities.' Not only public morality, which the present farce outrages, would gain; the wretched victims themselves would be spared having to pay for the interposition of a State middleman a double toll of disease and anguish.

" Civilised Powers, whose title to review the compliance of Egypt with the rudimentary obligations of civilisation has been a hundred times confirmed by Egyptian rulers, are bound by the prerogative they enjoy not to allow themselves to be hoodwinked. They might insist upon the removal of the office of the administration for the suppression of the slave-trade to a position in which it would answer its ostensible object. They might remonstrate effectually upon the craze for territorial extension which maintains a constant feud along a vast expanse of the East African shore, and forbids peace between Egypt and Abyssinia. So much is within the right and the power of Europe. To a radical cure of the ills which afflict the dominion of the Nile no foreign intervention by itself is equal. Not Colonel Gordon, or a succession of Colonel Gordons, could vitalize Egypt and stop at its source the cruel persecution which flows from Egypt over the neighbouring regions of Negroland. Only when Egypt is governed by Egyptians for Egyptians will the durable prosperity of ancient Egypt revive and the slave-trade die for want of encouragement. The slave-trade is carried on, not for the advantage of the peasant who tills his own little plot for himself, but to minister to the

luxury of 'a set of parasitical pashas who are foreigners in Egypt.' Colonel Gordon, in the midst of his lamentations over actual maladministration, looks forward to a time ' when there is an assembly of native Egyptians governing the country' in the place of these locusts. That date may be far off; but it is well to keep the prospect before the eves as that alone which can bring real happiness to Egypt and its people. There may be enlightened Pashas. Nubar Pasha is one. Tewfik himself has given promise of the qualities of an upright and public-spirited Sovereign. While, however, the people counts for nothing at all in its own administration a good governor works in the sand. Egypt will have to wait long before it can anticipate a second Colonel Gordon. Yet in a short year since Colonel Gordon relinquished his satrapy the land has become insolvent, the residue of its negro population is being led away into thraldom, and he 'expects that by this time Darfour and other countries are desert.' To a Turkish pasha, and to many Englishmen, Egyptian 'regeneration' will seem desperate if it is to depend on the replacement of pashas by an assembly of natives. A robuster faith in the reserve forces of humanity will discover no impossibility in the future intellectual and political enfranchisement even of Copts and Nutians. Every population may be trusted to develop faculties for its own administration if only scope be given it. The servile nature of the Rouman was once assumed to be an incontrovertible fact, as the same accusation is still brought against the Bulgarian. In his turn the Egyptian may, and doubtless will, prove prophecies of his inherent incapacity for selfgovernment false. But it must be admitted that the wheel of fate appears likely to have to revolve many times before his turn comes. The interval may be usefully employed by Europe in seeing that the temporary tenants of authority on the banks of the Nile do not wreck both their own fortunes and the happiness of the land in their charge by keeping their engagements to civilisation in the letter, and breaking every one of them in the spirit."

This letter and the leader in the Times produced the following remarks from Mr. Colvin, to which Colonel Gordon replied inmediately after his arrival in England:—

"THE SOUDAN AND EGYPTIAN FINANCE.

" (To the Editor of the Times.)

"SIR,—In Colonel Gordon's letter, dated September 29, published under the heading 'Colonel Gordon and the Slave-Trade' in the Times of October 12 and in your article of the same date on the subject, occur the following passages:—

"From Colonel Gordon's letter.—'The districts of Equator, Bar el Gazelle, Darfour, Senheit, Harar, Zeila, and Berbera, are governed at the rate of a deficit of at least £150,000 a-year, while the annexation of the Damkli coast will add some £40,000 to this deficit. If any advantage were accruing to the Egyptians or the natives of these lands, there would be reason to retain them; but it is a misery to the inhabitants and a drain on Lower Egypt to keep them, while it is unjust to the creditors, who have a right to every pound in excess of legitimate expenditure.

"'During my service in Egypt, Cairo never supplied any funds to the Soudan. Since I left, large sums are given for its government. This would be right if any check were maintained over the expenditure, for then these useless districts would be evacuated. As it is, this perpetuates the miseries of the natives at the

cost of the creditors.

"Colonel Gordon, in another passage, speaks of the extension of Egyptian rule in Africa as meaning 'an expenditure of £50,000 yearly, which sum must come from Cairo, and be deducted from the moneys due to the creditors of Egypt.

"In your remarks I read :-

"'Under a rule which has carried into hopeless slavery two-thirds of the people of a wide and fertile region, Egypt and its creditors are compelled to pay for the riveting of a terrible yoke upon others a yearly tribute of £150,000."

"Into the merits of the specific question at issue between Colonel Gordon and the Egyptian Government it is not my business to enter. But I beg to be allowed to contradict so much of the above remarks as implies that the expenses of the Soudan are a permanent charge upon the budget of Egypt, properly so called. The facts are these:—While the Commission of Liquidation was sitting in the summer, the Egyptian Government and the controllers represented to it that it was believed that, at the time of Colonel Gordon's leaving the Soudan, a debt of about £150,000 had accumulated in that province. They asked, therefore, that an equivalent sum should be deducted for the current year, and the current year only, from the surplus assets available for the service of the Egyptian debt. When Raouf Pasha (Colonel Gordon's successor) left for the Soudan he was told to present, at the earliest possible date, an authoritative statement of the Soudan floating debt. The Egyptian Government still await this. When it is received, so much of the above sum of £150,000 as may be found necessary will be disbursed in payment of the Soudan's liabilities. The balance will serve for the redemption of the Egyptian debt.

"With this single exception (for which the responsibility would seem to rest on the late Governor of the Soudan), there is no connection whatever between Egyptian and Soudan finance. Not a piastre is deducted on account of the Soudan from the moneys due to the creditors of Egypt. The creditors do not pay a farthing of tribute for the riveting of any chain on any African race whatever. Nothing has been given by Cairo for the Soudan since the departure of Colonel Gordon. The Soudan will stand or fall by its own resources, as Egypt by hers. Trusting to your impartiality to insert these few lines,

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
"A. COLVIN,

"Controller-General of Egyptian Finance." October 13.

"(To the Editor of the Times.)
"SIR,—Mr. Colvin, in his letter of October
14, states that nothing is paid from Cairo revenues towards the Soudan Government.

"When I was in the Soudan the receipts were scarcely equal to the expenditure. Since I left some 3,000 to 4,000 extra troops have been sent up. Where do the funds come from to pay and maintain these extra troops? The Commission d'Enquête failed to examine the Budget of Expenditure of the Egyptian Government. The Commission of Liquidation was only agreed to by the Khedive on the understanding that the Budget of Expenditure should not be examined. Has Mr. Colvin succeeded in examining in detail this Budget that he is positive that no funds go from Cairo to Soudan? I am quite certain that the Soudan cannot meet the extra expenses incurred since January, 1880.

"Having directed the attention of Egyptian creditors to this subject, I will not intrude further on your valuable space beyond asking Mr. Colvin to look over the date of the items of the floating debt of Soudan (which he implies I created) and he will see that they existed before I took up the command.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your obedient servant,
"Southampton, Oct. 22. C. G. GORDON."

This correspondence was further continued as follows, presumably by telegraph on the part of Mr. Colvin:—

"SIB,—I regret to have to trouble you again in regard to Colonel Gordon's statements about Egyptian finance. With the following remarks the correspondence, so far as I am concerned, will close.

"Colonel Gordon is in error when he says, 'The Commission of Liquidation was only agreed to by the Khedive on the understanding that the budget of expenditure should not be examined.' There was no such understanding whatever. The Commission of Liquidation, on the contrary, examined the Egyptian budget of expenditure carefully. I was myself a member of the sub-committee appointed to examine

and report upon it. That budget contains no provision for expenditure in the Soudan other than that alluded to in my former letter.

"The problem of making the two ends meet in the Soudan is for Raouf Pasha, the present governor, to solve, and I cannot, any more that Colonel Gordon, say, what his proposals will be. But certainly, he will have to trust to his own resources. I am not at present in a position to test the accuracy of Colonel Gordon's last figures; but, judging from so much as does fall within my knowledge, I cannot but think it possible that he has most unintentionally been misled.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient servant, " A. COLVIN."

"(To the Editor of the Times.)

"SIR,-I am glad that the repugnance of Tewfik Pasha was overcome, and that the Commission of Liquidation examined the Budget of

Expenditure.

"As for the floating debt and finances of the Soudan, I am positively certain personally that I am right in what I have stated. I had not to depend on cooked accounts, but for months went into every detail myself. I do not doubt that the Egyptian Minister of Finance will furnish papers to any amount to show that I created the floating debt.

"Does Mr. Colvin know that Raouf Pasha is Governor of only one-third of the so-called

Soudan provinces?

"Mr. Colvin asserts no funds are paid from Cairo to Soudar. I am firmly convinced that the revenues of the Soudan cannot meet the increased expense of that province. therefore, do the extra funds come? The Commissaires de la Caisse and the creditors will ascertain this before long.

"It would be well to recall the fact that this discussion has not arisen from any desire to impute negligence to the Controllers in their arduous task, or to benefit the creditors; it was in order to prevent the extension of Egyptian misrule over tribes which have hitherto been

independent.

"I may be wrong (and would gladly be proved so) in my estimation of the progress made under the present Egyptian Government. The people may be better off around Cairo, but in the remoter districts they are as heretofore.

"Some of our richer countrymen will spend the winter in Egypt. Let them visit the prisons, &c., and try to get the opinion of unofficial Egyptians and Europeans. To the generality of officials, all is more or less rose-coloured.

"The abuses in European countries have been remedied by the formation of elective assemblies; why should not the same remedy be applied to Egypt and Turkey? Why should Europe punish the people of these countries for the misdeeds of their rulers, and leave these unfortunates in their misery, denying them the chance of showing whether they could not ameliorate their condition f

"The re-instatement of the Midhat Constitution in Turkey, and a similar institution in

Egypt would rid Europe of the Sultan in six months, and would compel the retirement of some of the present advisers of Tewfik Pasha.

"Thanking you for your courtesy in insert-

ing my letters, I will write no more.
"Believe me, your obedient servant, " Oct. 26th. C. G. GORDON."

(From the "Echo," October 16.)

"To-day Colonel Gordon is expected to arrive in England from Egypt. Events move rapidly and time flies fast with a man of so much energy; but although it is only a few months since he left the Khedive's service, the reappearance of the slave traffic in the Soudan again demands his attention. Leaving Egypt for India, to assume the duties of Military Secretary to Lord Ripon, he arrived in Bombay only to send in his resignation of the appointment, and started for China, where he had at the time of the Rebellion won laurels as a soldier and a leader of men, and gained the sobriquet of "Chinese Gordon." But his latest visit was undoubtedly one of friendship and of peace. His appearance in the Celestial Empire in July was in response to au invitation from his old companion-in-arms, Li Hung Chang, and had for its object, as the Colonel has since asserted, to prevent a suicidal war. Discussing the nation's capacity for offence and defence, it is believed that he advocated a conciliatory attitude of the Government of Pekin towards Russia on the Kuldja Question, and suggested the intermediation of General Grant, as a citizen of a nation of whom the Czar had no occasion to be jealous. If he has succeeded in his mission he will have accomplished a service to China first, but also to humanity. But, in any case, his anxiety to return to the task of suppressing the slave-trade in Egyptian territory—an anxiety which almost induces him to forego a visit to England—is deserving of the highest commendation. No 'orders' may await him here; but his name will be held in high honour by all good and thoughtful men."

#### THE SLAVE-TRADE IN EGYPT.

WE would call the attention of our readers to the persistent manner in which the Egyptian Government endeavours to persuade the nations of Europe that there has been no increase in the slave-trade since the departure of Colonel Gordon from the scene of his labours. They are evidently in great dread of the return of that uncompromising and vigilant officer to his old work of putting down the infamous traffic in human beings, though all who wish well to the slave would heartily rejoice to see him once more engaged in that work.

On the 19th October, the following telegram from Egypt appeared in the principal morning papers upon this subject:-

" (THROUGH REUTER'S AGENCY.)
"CAIRO, OCT. 11.

"The Official Journal to-day publishes a report of Giegler Pasha, Deputy Governor of the Soudan (a German by birth), to the chief of the staff, in which he emphatically denies that the traffic in slaves has increased since the departure of Gordon Pasha, and states that the work of repression is being actively carried on by the same European officers who were appointed to the command of the distant provinces by Gordon Pasha himself."

This was replied to by the Anti-Slavery Society, and the answer was inserted in the *Times, Daily News, Daily Chronicle*, and *Standard* of the 20th October, as follows:—

"SIR,—In your issue of this day appears a statement from the Official Journal of Cairo, made by the Deputy-Governor of the Soudan, in which he 'emphatically denies that the traffic in slaves has increased since the departure of Colonel Gordon.'

"By a singular coincidence this day's post brings me a letter from Dr. Schweinfurth, the celebrated African explorer, dated Oct. 11, in which he encloses a report made by Herr Buchta, a young Austrian, who has lately travelled through the Soudan as far as Lake Victoria and Nyanza, on a photographic and artistic expedition. This report contains terrible accounts of the open manner in which the slavetrade is carried on, especially in Khartoum, and on the Upper Nile, and, in transmitting it to us, Dr. Schweinfurth remarks despairingly, Since the ever-to-be-deplored departure of Colonel Gordon, every post from the Soudan, is but another Job's messenger for the cause of humanity.'

"I hope you will kindly give your readers an opportunity of comparing Dr. Schweinfurth's statements with that just published in the Egyptian Government journal.

"I am, Sir, yours faithfully,
"CHARLES H. ALLEN, Secretary."
"British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,
Oct. 19."

THE SLAVE-TRADE IN THE SOUDAN, &c. In confirmation of the view taken by Dr. Schweinfurth and so many of our correspondents in Egypt and the Red Sea, we give below the translation of a paper forwarded to us by Dr. Schweinfurth, which he informs us was written by a traveller just returned from a two years' trip to the Soudan and countries of Equatorial Africa.

"The Egyptian Government officersmudirs-and governors are still deeply implicated in the SLAVE-TRADE. Ahmed Bey Atrouch, Mudir of Makako; Hassan Bey Ibrahim, Commissioner in Rohl; Jussef Pasha, present Mudir in Sennaar (the murderer of King Munza, who so largely figures in Dr. Schweinfurth's great work, 'The Heart of Africa'); Mohammed Taha, Mudir of Latuka, possess in the lands on the Bahr Gazelle, and on the Upper Nile, large depôts of slaves which they continually replenish by oppression of the native sheikhs, and they also continually ship slaves in the Government steamships to Khartoum. The Mudir of Fashoda, Saleb Bey, in April, 1880, exacted for a through ticket two thalers per head for all slaves shipped. Ibrahim Bey Fousi, present Governor of the Equatorial Provinces, as well as Taib Bey. carry on the slave-trade and slave-hunting in every possible way by direct oppression of the negro races, and as backsheesh from all their under officers, &c. Captains as well as crews of the Government steamers on the White Nile are constantly implicated in the slave-trade, and assist in every way in its development.

"In order to avoid detection the ships usually discharge their slaves before arrival at Khartoum, somewhere about Kalakla, or if that is too dangerous, even at Kaua.

"The price of a negro boy in Khartoum varies from thirty to forty thalers. Girls according to age and bodily development fifty to eighty thalers. On the other hand, in the equatorial provinces boys and girls can be bought for less than half that price. In Khartoum itself Abyssinian girls are eagerly sought and freely brought there They fetch a price of 200 thalers and over.

"The further transport from Khartoum is carried on along the Nile, as I myself saw on the left shore in June, 1880, near Metemma, where I met a caravan of more than a hundred head of slaves by night. The poor creatures were all of tender age, bound by their hands to each other with chains. On the other side of the Nile, however, slaves are more openly conveyed in numerous noggers (barges) which carry on the trade between Khartoum and Berber, and by means of which they are conveyed to the latter port. Never does it seem to occur to the Government to inspect these vessels

although they must have a very good knowledge of the state of things.

"In June 1880, as I was travelling from Khartoum to Berber, the vessel became suddenly filled with a cargo of blacks during the night, the greater part of whom were destined for Jeddah. When I asked the masters of these blacks (pious Hadjis, who, from morning till night, are incessantly calling out, 'Allah-hu-Akbar,' and murmuring prayers) to let me see the passage tickets of these slaves the same were immediately produced, and I found that these slave children were all entered as servants of their masters, and as such received passage. These passage tickets were granted at the Hokumdarieh-Government office, in Khartoum, AND SEALED WITH THE SEAL OF RAOUF PASHA!!\*

"According to information which I received during my residence in Jeddah, slaves are weekly brought into that city in spite of the presence of the English and French Consuls, and I cannot see how this lucrative trade is likely soon to be put an end to."

## A FURTHER CONFIRMATION.

An Egyptian paper, La Finanza, of the 21st September, contains a letter on this subject, of which the following is a translation:—

"A person worthy of belief, who arrived today from the province of Darfur, assures us that the trade in blacks has considerably increased there, as well as in Kordofan, and in various other provinces of Central and Equatorial Africa.

"This positively confirms the report of the two missionaries, Wilson and Felkin, who not long since returned from Uganda, and who passed through these districts, and saw and related the same thing. This fact had been already transmitted to the Society in London for the Abolition of Slavery, by one of its corresponding members. We hope that the Government of His Highness the Khedive will put an end to such a state of things.

"The last steamer arrived from Jeddah brings

\* This was the officer appointed by the Egyptian Government to succeed Colonel Gordon, and to continue Gordon's excellent labours for the suppression of the slave-trade! See the account of this man in Sir Samuel Baker's "Ismailia," vol. i., p. 286, where he is described as the bosom friend of Abou-Saoud, who was the incarnation of the slave-trade!

back very sad news. The sale and purchase of human beings continues to be practised on a large scale in the Hedgay, Yemen, Nubia, Abyssinia, and at various points on the coast. Men, women, children, and babes of all ages, are sold in those parts as though they were beasts of burden.

"Everyone properly asks When will such a state of things terminate?

"It is truly sad to think that in the nineteenth century so much iniquity is still committed, and not yet acknowledged by all as not the less grave a crime than that of buying and selling one's own relations.

"It is necessary that universal public opinion should insist that a curb be put upon this infamous traffic, to the end that our unfortunate brothers in Central Africa shall no longer be condemned to groan in slavery.

"(Signed) AN ABOLITIONIST."

We have received from another well-informed correspondent a long report from a traveller in Upper Egypt, which describes another route taken by slave-caravans to the Red Sea coast. From this we make a few extracts, witholding the names, as requested by our informant. The authority is, however, incontestible:—

"Let me now tell you what I have seen, and what I see daily in the Soudan, on the subject of slavery. You may relate these facts to those interested in the Anti-Slavery cause, but as I do not wish to hurt anyone I will thank you to suppress names, although what I now state I have seen with my own eyes, and I am ready to bear witness to it. Moreover, to strike down a single individual would not be worth much, and if they would seize upon all the guilty, by Heaven, the Egyptian Government would not have a single native official left in the Soudan! At the same time I feel sure that the personal sentiments of the Khedive are favourable to the abolition of slavery; but what I am still more certain of is that the slave-trade is only abolished in name, and that it flourishes here more than ever. Also, I am quite sure that caravans of 200 to 300 unfortunates, and often more, arrive here continually, without hindrance, coming from Galabat, in order to be sent to Jeddah and Hodeidah.

"What I am also certain of is, that the Governor does not fail to levy upon the merchants a tax, which varies according to his good pleasure and the wealth of the merchants, and in return for this tax he grants a free pass to the convoys: this example is followed by all the native officials.

"The last of these caravans arrived about six weeks ago, and was composed of more than 200 slaves drawn in part from the tribes situate to the south of Galabat, but consisting principally OF WOMEN PROCURED BY RAZZIAS into Abyssinia. I should not find it difficult to find in twenty-four hours in the neighbouring villages more than 500 slaves, who are prevented by the rainy season from being despatched to the coast.

"The surveillance which the authorities ought to exercise upon the slave-trade results simply in connivance with the merchants all along the line, and not a single measure adopted to hinder the trade. You may believe me that this state of things will continue so long as native officials have charge of this

"If it is really intended to abolish the slave-trade—if it is not to be a mere phantas-magoria to dazzle the eyes of Europe, there is but one way—that is to give to confidential European officers the surveillance of the actions of these merchants. To invest these Europeans with sufficient authority to punish them on their own responsibility and without appealing to native officials, and also to summon before them the governors and the mudirs where necessary.

"The highway for this trade is the road from Galabat by Katarif to Souakim. It is by this road that caravans arrive from Abyssinia and from the South, as well as those which come from the White Nile, and they leave that river at Massikamia in order to avoid Khartoum, where several consuls reside, and they then proceed by Katarif towards the Atbara river and the coast."

# COLONEL GORDON AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

WE are very happy to announce that Colonel Gordon arrived safely in England on the 21st October, in excellent health. He found a large bundle of letters waiting him, written by various correspondents and former officers under him in the Soudan. These he has kindly placed at our disposal, and from them we extract a few brief statements relative to the slave-trade and to the movements of troops towards the Abyssinian frontier, but of course suppressing names of his informants.

One gentleman thus writes :--

"Mahonsoa set out on the 2nd October with 2,000 soldiers and all munitions of war. Some officers, say they are destined for Souakim, others for Massowah, but no one really knows.

"I have received letters from Massowah which inform me that the Naib Mahomet

went to the camp of Ras Aloula with letters from His Highness the Khedive, but Ras Aloula would not receive either him or his letters. He has, however, written to Ali Pasha, Governor of the Red Sea Coasts, that he will go to Bogos, Habab, and the districts of Massowah to collect the taxes due. This has caused a great panic in Massowah, and from what appears Naib Mahomet has set out for Massowah.

"Osman Pasha, Minister of War at Cairo, and Rachid Pasha, with 2,500 men, are about to depart for Massowah.

"I wonder that England permits a fresh expedition of this kind, and I hope that you will explain to His Excellency Gladstone, the situation of affairs in Abyssinia, which is a country that must one day be the advanced guard of civilisation in Africa."

#### THE SLAVE-TRADE AND SLAVERY.

Another correspondent writes to Colonel Gordon:—"The slave-trade is still thriving, but less is heard of it, for the simple reason that no one here takes sufficient interest in the question to do anything.

"It is not true that Gessi has yet been dismissed, though it is a general opinion that Raouf has fully made up his mind to dismiss him!" [This would indeed be a great blow to the Anti-Slavery cause.— ED.]

"Slavery remains in *statu quo*. Sala and Co. make a little noise occasionally, but really nothing is being done.

Another letter states:—"Count della Sala and his officers seem to have effectually stopped the large caravans from coming too near to Cairo. They have, in other words, succeeded in their eye-wash for the Nile tourists, &c. The statement that slaves are pouring across from Zeila accounts forthis."

# THE RED SEA COAST.

"The Egyptian Government will do all they can to prevent any colonies being established on the Red Sea. This is a sore point with them, yet I sometimes feel as if I should like to colonise there myself and quit Egypt. It is the only way to civilise this part of the world, and I am beginning to believe in Mr. Gladstone's 'bag and baggage' policy after all."

This correspondence very much confirms the statement which appeared a few days ago in the English press to the effect that a fresh war was likely to take place between Egypt and Abyssinia!

# SUGGESTIONS FOR CHECKING THE SLAVE-TRADE IN EGYPT.

Colonel Gordon has given us the following very valuable suggestions for checking the slave-trade:—

- 1 REGISTRATION OF EXISTING SLAVES.
- 2. DECLARATION AFFIXED PUB-LICLY EVERYWHERE IN EGYPT AND SOUDAN THAT NON-REGIS-TERED SLAVES ARE FREE.
- 3. CONSULS AS BEFORE PRO-POSED.
- 4. BOOKS FOR REGISTRATION TO BE CLOSED IN SIX MONTHS.
- 5. NO ARAB ALLOWED INTO DAR-FOUR, OR BAHRGAZELLE, WITH-OUT PASSPORT, AND WITHOUT SOME HOUSEHOLDER'S GUA-RANTEE THAT HE WILL NOT PURCHASE SLAVES.

CAPTURE OF SLAVES AT ZANZIBAR.

From the *Times* we learn that a large dhow full of slaves has been captured in the harbour of Zanzibar, under cover of the French flag!

We are glad to notice that the French Consul is making strenuous efforts to put down this abuse of the flag of his country, and we trust he will not rest until the traffic is stopped. We should like to know whence these slaves are brought—where they are destined to be sold—and how it is that they can thus easily be smuggled into the harbour of Zanzibar. It looks as though there must be some connivance somewhere. We trust that Dr. Kirk will not let the matter rest. Lieutenant Matthews appears to have acted with very commendable discretion and vigour.

"Letters from East Africa up to the 25th ult mention the capture of a French dhow at Zanzibar, with ninety-four slaves on board, by Lieutenant Matthews and the Sultan's soldiers. No one had any information or suspicion of such a dhow; but Matthews's soldiers having reported to him some suspicious movements of a certain party, Matthews determined one night to watch. The result was that in the course

of an hour he captured the dhow and slaves in the harbour, a signal proof of the vigilance of Matthews's police. The dhow and slaves were at once handed over to M. Ledoulx, the French consul, who took up his case warmly. The slaves have all been freed and placed in the French Mission Establishment at Bagamoyo; the disposal of the dhow has been referred to the French Government. M. Ledoulx is working most energetically to put an end to the system which has gone on so long of carrying slaves under the French flag, about which he is most indignant, and he has already arrested four more dhows on suspicion."

# COLONEL GORDON AS A PRISONER IN THE HANDS OF

## KING JOHN OF ABYSSINIA.

The following graphic account of Colonel Gordon's interview with King John of Abyssinia has already appeared in print, and although not strictly correct is yet true in the main. We trust that the Colonel will not object to our giving it further publicity. The courage and faith in God's Providence which have been so characteristic of Colonel Gordon throughout his marvellous career did not desert him in the hour of peril,

"When GORDON PASHA was lately taken prisoner by the Abyssinians he completely checkmated King John. The king received his prisoner sitting on his throne, or whatever piece of furniture did duty for that exalted seat-a chair being placed for the prisoner considerably lower than the seat on which the king sat. The first thing Colonel Gordon did was to seize this chair, place it alongside that of his Majesty, and sit down upon it: the next, to inform him that he met him as an equal, and would only treat him as such. This somewhat disconcerted his sable Majesty, but, on recovering himself, he said, 'Do you know, Gordon Pasha, that I could kill you on the spot, if I liked?' 'I am perfectly aware of it, your Majesty,' said the Pasha; 'do so at once, if it is your royal pleasure; I am ready.' This disconcerted the King still more, and he exclaimed, "What! ready to be killed?' 'Certainly,' replied the Pasha, ' I am always ready to die, and so far from

fearing your putting me to death, you would confer a favour on me by so doing, for you would be doing for me that which I am precluded by my religious scruples from doing for myself; you would relieve me from all the troubles and misfortunes which the future may have in store for me.' This completely staggered King John, who gasped out in despair, 'Then my power has no terrors for you.' 'None, whatever,' was the Pasha's laconic reply. His Majesty, it is needless to add, instantly collapsed.

"Since he has been in England Colonel Gordon has lived at a small house in Chelsea like a recluse. He has steadily refused to be feted or lionized, or to see any one but a few intimate friends, much less to go out into society. One of these intimates told me the other day that a warm climate suited him, as his diet was characteristically austere and simple in the extreme; his only medicine calomel, and the Bible!"

COLONEL GORDON'S REMARKS UPON THE ABOVE,

Colonel Gordon tells us that it is not true that he seized a chair as described, "which would have been both rude and foolish."

The remaining portion of the story he says must have arisen from his having said to the King's interpreter—that he did not fear the king, as "The king's heart is in the hands of the Lord, as the rivers of water; He turneth it whithersoever He will." He added, that death would be a great blessing to him personally. There is no doubt that this calm, quiet courage, much astonished the fierce monarch.

# THE MURDER OF CAPT. CARTER AND MR. CADENHEAD, OF THE BELGIAN AFRICAN EXPEDITION.

The Rev. J. O. Whitehouse, the acting foreign secretary of the London Missionary Society and one of our Committee, has received the journal of Dr. Southon, the Society's missionary residing at Urambo, which gives a narrative of his interview with Mirambo on the subject of the murder of Captain Carter and Mr. Cadenhead. The following are extracts:—

"Early on the morning of the 11th of August I went down to the Kwikuru to meet Mirambo, as per appointment. I found him in front of his large house, transacting some business with a number of Watusi herdsmen, and sur-

rounded by many of his headmen. On seeing me enter the courtyard, he immediately jumped up from the seat he was occupying and stepped forward to greet me, shaking hands most cordially. After a little chit-chat of a jovial nature, Mirambo asked me to accompany him to his house, as he had some important news to communicate. I assented, and followed him to the verandah of his house, under the shade of which seats were placed, and a chair set especially for myself. His first and second headmen accompanied us, and occasionally joined in the conversation, which was chiefly carried on by Mirambo in a narrating kind of style.

"He told me that, after leaving here about two months since, he went to the town of Sassagula, but all the people had run away; he therefore thought of disbanding his army and returning to Urambo, but just at that time the chief Simba sent to him asking help to fight the Sultan Kasogera, of Upimbwe, or, as Stanley calls it, Mpimbwe. To this proposal Mirambo agreed, and the two joined forces and went south, keeping to the unfrequented forest, in order that their movements might not be known. They made a very long march on the 23rd of June, and also a terekeza, which brought them by sunset to a river north of the capital of Kasogera, and about three hours' march from that place. Here they slept that night, and early next morning crossed the river, and by 9 or 9.30 a.m. were engaged with the Wapimbwe, who were waiting in the earthworks outside the town, but who soon evacuated these to fight inside their tall wooden stockade.

"Mirambo said he was behind his soldiers, and when they had mastered the earthworks they began to climb the stockade, and in a short time were fighting the inhabitants inside the fence. Just at this juncture a chief rushed up with the news that there were white men inside the town, upon which Mirambo gave orders to save them and their effects at all costs; but when the chief ran back, he found the place sacked and the bodies of two white men and a number of Wangwana lying near a lot of boxes and other property. latter consisted of books and papers scattered about on the ground, a tent and several broken cases. Mirambo said he himself then hurried up, but could save nothing except five cases, which he brought here and which I was wel-He said he felt extremely sorry come to see. to think that he had unwittingly attacked white men, and had he known that they were in the town he would never have attacked it until they were gone. Sixteen Wangwana and an Arab named Mohamed were made prisoners, but were released by order of Mirambo. The Arab was the servant of one of the Europeans, and received permission from Mirambo to gather the papers of his late master and to convey them to Urambo to be placed in my care. 'Now,' said Mirambo, 'I will send for these men, and you can find out from them all about the Wazungu (white men).' despatched a messenger, and shortly after an

Arab and several Wangwana appeared. I at once recognised the Arab as being Captain Carter's servant, who had come from Aden in the same steamer with Carter and myself. I thereupon asked him if he had not been with Carter, and he said he had been his servant for many years. I then asked who were the white men killed, for I hoped Carter had sent his servant with some other white men; but my worst fears were realised when he said, 'My master and Mr. Cadenhead.' I told him to tell me all about it, and entered in my notebook his story, just as I had entered that of Mirambo.

"On the twelfth day after leaving Karema the fight occurred; hence the party left that place on June 13th. This date I first elicited by cross-questioning, as it seemed to me important to get the correct date of their leaving Karema. When they left Karema, both Captain Carter and Mr. Cadenhead were weak from the effects of fevers, so that they did not make long marches until they arrived at Kasogera's Kwikuru, when they were about eight hours on the road. This was on the 22nd of June, and having had a good reception from the Sultan, Captain Carter determined to rest the followirg day, and also to settle the Mhongo. was finished on the morning of the 23rd, and soon after the Sultan sent his headman, saying that Mirambo was coming to fight against the town, and the white men had better come inside the town. This Carter refused to do, as he said he had no wish to fight any one. Then the Sultan said, 'If you do not come into my town I shall know you will help Mirambo against me, and I shall therefore attack you as you are my enemy.' Carter then called his headmen for a shauri, and all wanted to do what Kasogera wished, more especially as the latter had promised to let them go in the morning if Mirambo did not come that night. Still Carter would not agree to go inside the town, and it was not till the village people made as if they would attack him that he consented to go inside, so that it was several hours after sunset before they moved camp.

"There was no attack that night, and next morning everything was packed up for a start: but the tent was not struck. Carter then demanded that the chief should let him go according to promise, but Kasogera would not consent; and as they were almost in the middle of the town, and all the people were armed, it was useless to resist. At 10 o'clock there was shootings on all sides, and shortly after the soldiers of Mirambo and Simba came running into the place, pursuing the Wapimbwe. Carter then ordered Mr. Cadenhead to take a white cloth and wave it in front of the tent, near which all the men (Wangwana) were congregated, in all about 120 men. Carter gave orders that no one was to fire unless they were attacked. Several parties of Mirambo's men appeared, but did not attack them. At last one party began shooting, and several Wang-wana fell. Mr. Cadenhead then fired his rifle at this party, the Wangwana doing the same with their guns. Shortly after Mr. Cadenhead fell mortally wounded, upon which all the Wangwana, except three, ran away, leaving Captain Carter in the lurch. With these three men he made his way to the outside of the village, where, having expended his ammuni-tion (which consisted of a few cartridges in his Winchester, the servant with spare ammunition having bolted with the others), his headman, Abdullah, was shot, as was also another man, leaving Carter and one man to do the best they could against a host of foes. This man, whose name is Hames Wad Sameri, survived Carter, and was brought here to Urambo, and from him I gathered that, when the two men dropped, as related above, Carter turned round to look through the fence as if to see if he could escape that way, there being lots of men in front. While thus engaged, a bullet struck him between the shoulders from some men in front, whereupon he fell, and Hames immediately ran along the ditch, hoping to escape, but was made prisoner by a Mnyamwezi, and taken to Mirambo, who liberated him at once."

The account given by Dr. Southon certainly does not agree with that originally sent from Zanzibar. Still, in many respects, it would appear that Mirambo may have told the truth, and that the lamented death of these brave men may not in any way have been owing to his orders, nor may he have been cognizant of the attack upon them. We must, however, await further particulars before acquitting Mirambo of all participation in this cowardly deed.

# SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

WE extract from the Rio News a few important items bearing upon the present state of the slavery question in Brazil:—

THE EMANCIPATION LAW.

The early slave emancipation legislation of Brazil is chiefly comprised in seven legislative Acts beginning with that of 1831 which was enacted for the suppression of the slave-trade, and ending with the Act of 1870 regulating the conversion of the estates, including slaves, of religious establishments into Government bonds.

By the Slave-trade Act of November 7, 1831, all slaves brought into the empire after that date were declared free, and the parties introducing them were declared guilty of reducing free men to slavery and liable to criminal prosecution. This law, however, remained a dead letter for many years, as the slave-trade was carried on for thirty years thereafter.

On the 4th of September, 1850, a second Act was passed establishing "measures for the

suppression of the African traffic in this empire." This law specified what should constitute the introduction or attempt to introduce slaves into Brazil, what parties should be held amenable either as principals or accomplices, and declared the traffic to be piracy. Both of these laws declared that the blacks thus illegally introduced should be returned to their native country, and that they should be put out to service for a term of years in order to earn the means for such return passage. Out of these mistaken provisions grew the shameful history of the emancipados-the men who were declared free under these laws, but who were held in slavery under labour contracts beyond the specified fourteen years. This term of service was specified in the Act of December 28th, 1853. The flagrant evasions of this law led in part to the troubles between Great Britain and Brazil in 1861-64. The Act of June 5, 1854, simply provided for the execution of the foregoing laws. On September 24th, 1864, thirty-three years after the passage of the Slave-trade Act, the legislature passed an Act declaring free all the emancipados whose services had been contracted under the foregoing laws. This Act grew out of the difficulties with Great Britain, and declared those Africans free to whom the Government in previous laws had guaranteed freedom and whom it had promised to send back to their native country.

By an Act of September 15th, 1869, the public sales of slaves and the separation of husband and wife and children under fifteen years, was prohibited. This Act also provided for the liberation of slaves of intestate estates who shall pay their valuation in the official inventory. The Act of June 28th, 1870, provides for the conversion of the property, including slaves, belonging to religious orders into Government bonds, but excepts the slaves of convent communities whom these orders declare free and the slave mothers whose children they declare to have been born free.

Under the lead of the Visconde do Rio Branco, and during the regency of the Princess Imperial, the General Assembly passed an Act, on the 28th of September, 1871, which granted freedom to all children of slave mothers born after that date.

## THE EMANCIPATION QUESTION.

In the discussion of the annual budget of the Department of Agriculture in the Chamber of Deputies on the 10th August, 1880, Deputy Joaquim Nabuco made an eloquent and forcible speech on the question of emancipation and the attitude of the ministry towards it. As the entire speech is too long for the space at our disposal we give the following extracts as best illustrating its character and scope:—

"Gentlemen,—It is with sincere regret that I see even in the present budget that there is an intention to tamper with the Emancipation Fund and to deprive it of elements with which it has been endowed by law. I am perfectly well aware that when economy is mentioned it only refers to two branches of our public service, the most important of all—public instruction and emancipation. It is our poor, attenuated forces and our limited resources to which the slave looks for his freedom, which unite to increase the glory of our economists.

"Gentlemen,—The noble minister was perfectly right in calling the Chamber's attention to the service which he has rendered in distributing the Emancipation Fund, not only for the year of his administration but for preceding years. And he has all the more reason for self-glorification in that he has been able to wrest from the treasury the few thousands of contos deposited there for freeing slaves; since it is certain that owing to our system of settled deficit the money which once goes into the treasury does not easily leave it again...

"But I am not content with the glory which the noble Minister of Agriculture has achieved in distributing the Emancipation Fund. I would have him do much more; I would have him restore the emancipation fund to its original state, in all its legal belongings, with all the resources which a law, voted by the country and a solemn law which binds us as much before ourselves as before the whole world, has created for this special and sacred service.

"Nevertheless, in the present budget, as in its predecessors, 25 per cent. of this small and most insignificant Emancipation Fund is diverted to a purpose entirely foreign, entirely outside the emancipation of the slaves—that of the education of their free-born children. . . The law devoted to the emancipation fund not only special taxes and fines and proceeds of lotteries, to all of which the law refers, but also an amount which should be annually voted by the legislature, as well as by the provincial assemblies. Very well, then, I ask: What is the amount which we this year are going to vote for the Emancipation Fund? None whatever.

And besides not voting anything, besides our not devoting to this grand purpose of emancipation those savings which we have obtained after much study from other branches of the public service, we devote to other purposes that which was inalienable by law, and on which no one ought to lay a hand. . . .

#### ILLEGAL FLOGGING OF SLAVES.

"I would ask his Excellency, amongst other things, how a certain practice in the hands of the state is being carried on, a practice which consists of the infliction of chastisement by public authorities on slaves at the pleasure of their owners. I would ask how this flogging of slaves is carried on; and if there has been any execution of the regulation of the late chief of the police, Sr. Pindahyba de Mattos issued during the carnival, which condemned to a hundred lashes the slave who should practise its tricks. I would ask his Excellency if the Government is keeping an eye on the public sales of slaves in which there are advertised and exposed for sale African slaves imported after the law of 1831. I would ask his Excellency if the Government has any eye on those slave markets advertised in the Jornal do Commercio, and in which only a short time back there were sold Africans imported after the law of 1831.

THE ST. JOHN DEL REY GOLD MINING COMPANY.

... I still wish to call the attention of the moble minister to a case which has resulted in the liberation of more than a hundred of men illegally enslaved by the Morro Velho Mining Company, for I wish to know if this sentence has been fully carried out and what steps the Government has taken to enforce compensation from the English company for the time which it kept in captivity those unfortunates who were free. . . .

#### SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

"Gentlemen,—In all that vast territory occupied by the Caucasian race to-day Brazil is the only quarter in which slavery still Sourishes. Spain, which in Europe shared with Turkey the privilege of being a slave-holding ration, has just declared slavery extinct in the sland of Cuba. We, in America, and Turkey, in Europe, are the only civilised nations which still preserve this institution, weighed down with years as with crimes which have stained the whole face of our land with blood."

The question so ably handled by Senor Nabuco is thus reviewed by the Anglo-

Brazilian Times. It is satisfactory to find two such able newspapers engaged in aiding the cause of the Brazil slaves. Surely their voice and that of united Christendom must at length be heard, even above the selfish outcry of the wealthy slave-owners.

"The weak point of Brazilian prosperity was sharply touched last week in the discussion raised upon slavery, and it is clear that a small, if not very practical, section of the liberal deputies have resolved to found their claims to public consideration upon an agitation of a chord the slightest touch on which thrills Brazil from the Oyapock to the Chuy, and that, untrammelled themselves by agricultural interests, their watchword is liberation of the slaves in 1890, with or without pretence of an impossible compensation.

"The Minister of Agriculture himself, while refusing, in the name of the cabinet, to reopen the question, and deciaring its policy to be the maintenance of the existing legislation of indirect action in the main, does not venture to extend the continuance of slavery here beyond the present century. In reckoning, however, on the endurance of Brazilian slavery for twenty years longer it seems to us that the Minister shuts his eyes to the influence of disturbing circumstances upon Government action, for the history of modern emancipation shows that slavery always marches towards its end with accellerating pace, and confounds the calculations of gradualists, by a liberatory cataclasm or an immediate emancipation forced upon the Government and the slaveowners by popular clamour. It must be remembered, also, that slavery now lingers in only two parts of the western world, and is already tottering in one of them, and that once Brazil becomes isolated as a slaveholding state the existence of slavery will hang on a very thread which any internal or foreign pressure may suddenly divide.

"The question of slavery is in fact the gravest issue in Brazil, and, as the Minister of Agriculture tersely put it, our paper money and our funded debt are unhappily fast to it for ten years at least. Slavery is, in truth, that main prop of our production with which, if suddenly cut, will fall as suddenly the prosperity of the country; and yet this burning question continues to be treated with the customary procrastination, as though the evil day were still a century or two aloof and merged in a smiling future of a populous country and

an industrious population. Even in the promotion of the doubtful panaceas of land banks and Chinese labour there is no earnestness to show that they are really trusted in by the Government and the legislature—our governors seem, indeed, well content to let the deluge come, while absorbed in village politics and the entrancing struggle for the spoils of office."

## LIBERIA.

WE are glad to see that the impulse toward Liberia is by no means decreasing in the Southern States of the American Union. Two expeditions of emigrants have gone out this summer, and have been safely landed in Liberia. The account given by the organ of the Colonization Society in America is as follows:—

DEPARTURE OF TWO EXPEDITIONS.

The barques Liberia and Monrovia, built expressly for passenger and freight trade with Western Africa, sailed from New York, May 22nd and 29th respectively, with valuable cargoes and 136 emigrants for Liberia. The latter were sent by the American Colonization Society, the Pennsylvania auxiliary assisting with 4,000 dols. Several families were from New Berne, N.C., and Marshall, Texas, but the great bulk of the voyagers were of the class known as "Arkansas refugees," who had been in New York and Philadelphia several months, waiting for the means of transportation. It will be remembered that these people came North entirely self-moved, and at their own expense, when the Society gave them comfortable passage to Liberia, and sent with them all the requisites for their half-year's living in that Republic.

The Rev. Dr. Blyden, who has resided in Western Africa for thirty years, and knows the kind of population best adapted for its Christian civilisation, wrote: "I went to see the 'Arkansas refugees,' and found them the right sort of men for the work to be done now in Liberia. They are the men to lay the material, and even moral, foundation for the negro superstructure which is to be reared on that coast."

The people are in families, and their ages may be thus stated: Seventy-six are twelve years of age and upwards, forty-nine are between eleven and two years old, and eleven are under two years of age. Twenty-five reported themselves as communicants

in regular standing of Baptist, and nineteen of Methodist churches. Of the adult males, twenty-three are farmers, two coopers, one blacksmith, one brickmaker, two teachers, and two licensed preachers of the Gospel The emigrants expect to settle at Brewerville, near the St. Paul's river.

Several families of the "Arkansas refugees" were not sent for want of funds, which the Society could not supply. Contributions for the Fall expedition are solicited.

# THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

WE informed our readers a short time since that a great blow had been struck at the slave-traffic on the East Coast of Africa by the capture of the powerful chief and principal slave exporter, Mucusse. telegram from Mozambique has been received informing the Government that the relatives of Mucusse, having been advised of his capture and approaching trial, summoned their followers and attacked Sancub on June 28. The Portuguese military force bombarded (by sea) Fuco, Mucusse's territory, and likewise Quivolane, the region belonging to Mucusse's brother, who was at the head of the rebellion. The troops on shore succeeded in preventing a junction with the rebels, as had been planned. The judicial tribunal of Mozambique has sentenced Mucusse to transportation for life, and the prisoner will be at once conveyed to the West Coast of Africa. News from the East Coast of Africa likewise states that Captain Braga, carrying out the instructions of the authorities, captured a Mijojo chief, on whose property there were found, bound hand and foot, and ready for embarking. several gangs of slaves of both sexes -African Times.

# NEGRO EXPLORERS IN AFRICA.

The subject of training natives of Africa to carry out explorations in that continent is one of great interest, seeing that the climate is often too deadly for the continuous action of white Missionaries. The presentation of a watch to the negro Bishop Crowther, by the Royal Geographical Society, at their last anniversary meeting, is a graceful recognition of the great ser-

vices rendered to humanity by that indefatigable native Christian labourer.

We trust that many more Christian negroes will be trained to go forth and spread the light of the Gospel in the Dark Continent, and thus do battle against the curse of slavery and the slave-trade, which the Mohammedan religion only fosters and encourages.

The PRESIDENT (Earl Northbrook) addressing Mr. N. C. Cust, who attended to receive the Presentation Watch, which had been awarded to Bishop Crowther, of Western Africa, said:—

"The Council of the Royal Geographical Society have unanimously voted a testimonial watch to Bishop Crowther, the native Missionary Bishop of Western Africa, in recognition of the services he has rendered for the past forty years to geographical science, by the assistance given to successive expeditions on the River Niger. He accompanied the expedition under Captain Trotter in 1841, and again in 1854. In 1857 he was a member of the exploring party under Dr. Baikie, and since then he has repeatedly ascended the Niger, besides traversing the neigh. bouring countries by land; and the descriptions he has given of the people and their languages, and the trade and products of the country, have greatly added to the sum of our geographical knowledge.

"Mr. Cust, I place this watch in your hands as a friend and correspondent of Bishop Crowther, who is at present in Africa, preparing for another journey, with the request that you will forward it to him on the first convenient opportunity. I have the more pleasure in requesting you to undertake this duty on account of the interest which you have taken in the very important subject of the organisation of a body of trained explorers to be selected from the native explorers of Africa."

Mr. Cust said he "thanked the Society in the name of Bishop Crowther for the great honour conferred upon him. He would recall to the recollection of the members that Bishop Crowther was a released slave. There was still a great work to be done in Africa, and he trusted that some of those now present would live to see a negro explorer come in person to receive the gold medal of the Society for explorations properly done and scientifically reported."

A COLLECTION OF BOOKS AND PAPERS CONNECTED WITH SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

WE have been requested to announce that an important collection of books, &c.—
"brought together with a view to illustrate the history of the SLAVE-TRADE in general, more particularly that branch of it known as the African Slave-Trade, with a special reference to the illustration of Thomas Clarkson's history of this infamous traffic, with historical notices of slavery throughout the world, especially in the West Indies and North and South America—is for sale at the present time.

"The collection consists of many works annotated in MS., -books with important autographs,-illustrated works on slavery and the slave-trade,—engravings, &c. The leading piece of the collection is a very important manuscript in quarto, in the handwriting of the celebrated GRANVILLE SHARP, and containing an account of the remarkable trial "Gregson and others," before Lord Mansfield, in the Court of Queen's Bench, at Guildhall, March, 1783, to which are annexed MS. annotations on the trial itself-also by Granville Sharp,it being, in fact, his own copy, the importance and interest of which cannot be overestimated." A description of the books, &c., on sale may be obtained on application to the Editor.

#### OBITUARY NOTICE.

DECEASE OF THE REV. JOHN CLARK OF BROWN'S TOWN, JAMAICA.

Another anti-slavery and missionary veteran, after a long life of consecrated and useful service, has entered upon the scene of his higher and still more extended activities.

The following brief notice is extracted from the *Missionary Herald* of September 1st, 1880:—

"Mr. Clark breathed his last on Friday, July 2nd, in the seventy-first year of his age. He entered the Jamaica Mission in 1835, just after the first Act of Emancipation had professedly liberated 300,000 slaves in Jamaica from bondage. But this Act proved, in many respects, a snare and a delusion; for under the

name of apprenticeship it still held the people in captivity, and placed in the hands of wicked taskmasters the means of inflicting greater cruelties than had been perpetrated during slavery itself. It transferred the powers of punishment from the quondam slave-master to the public authorities; and, to the instruments of torture which had been used before, it added the treadmill, which became the scene of the most heart-rending, atrocities. And inasmuch as the apprentices - men and women-were punished without right of appeal on the information of the master, the oppression and wrong-doing became aggravated to a degree which had never been paralleled. No wonder that the righteous indignation of the ardent and impulsive young missionary was aroused. He writhed in mental agony over some cases of monstrous cruelty inflicted on members of his own congregation. Representations were made to philanthropists in England. Messrs. Sturge and Harvey went to Jamaica on a mission of inquiry in 1837. Mr. Clark threw himself into it heart and soul. The mission-house at Brown's Town became the seat of the investigation. Numerous witnesses, of the most reliable character among the apprentices on surrounding estates, were produced by the missionary pastor. The most harrowing facts were brought to light through his means; and such a case was made out as sealed the fate of the apprenticeship scheme four years before it was intended to expire; and resulted in the complete emancipation of the people on the 1st of August, 1838. The result was consequent upon the energetic and enthusiastic efforts of Mr. Clark, enforced by the calm, deliberative inquiries, and quiet and determined persistency of the two noblehearted anti-slavery men who went to the island on this mission of mercy, and saw with their own eyes the flagrant attempts which were being made to make the Act of Emancipation a dead letter, notwithstanding that £20,00,000 of British gold had been paid in compensation to the slave-owner for the liberation of the slave. The abolition of apprenticeship, and with that the complete freedom of the people of Jamaica, will ever be associated with the name of JOHN CLARK, of Brown's Town, coupled with the honoured names of JOSEPH STURGE, of Birmingham, and THOMAS HARVEY, of Leeds. In association with Mr. Clark and his work for the amelioration of the social condition of the people, honour-

able mention should also be made of Mr. and Mrs. George William Alexander, also members of the Society of Friends, who subsequently visited Jamaica on a mission of mercy, principally making their home at the Brown's Town mission-house.

"Mr. Clark's labours, as also those of other missionaries in Jamaica, were now directed to another great social movement, which has laid the foundation of a peasant proprietary which will compare not unfavourably with that of almost any country. The emancipated negro labourer became, as a rule, a tenant-at-will on the estate on which he worked, every estate having its own 'negro village.' But on their emancipation, this on many properties was used as an instrument of oppression; and instead of a rent being demanded from the head of the family for the hut he and they might occupy, a poll-rent was required from every member. Where there were several children, the amount became enormous-sometimes, as a planter himself has told me, as much as 6s. or 7s. per week for a hut the intrinsic worth of which was hardly more. This amount was deducted from the weekly wages earned, and thus the labourer was mulcted of a large proportion of the fruit of his toil. The people complained, and the missionary felt the iniquity of the system, and sought to provide against it. Mr. Clark was foremost among those who did so. Considerable tracts, especially of mountain land, suitable for peasant cultivation, were coming into the market for sale. Such providentially was the case in the Dry Harbour Mountains, where Brown's Town is situated. Mr. Clark availed himself of the opportunity to purchase. Large proprietors, indeed, were unwilling to sell to the missionary, but a friendly agency was found to effect purchases on his behalf. These tracts of land having thus been bought, were sold in small allotments of from one to five acres, or more, on easy terms to the people. Lands thus became occupied by a thriving black and coloured population. In due time houses were built and villages were formed, the names of which are monumental evidence of their origin. So in the Dry Harbour Mountains there are Sturge Town, Buxton and Wilberforce, Philadelphia, and Liberty Valley, with other names no less appropriate. About a dozen such villages, now teeming with thriving populations, owe their existence to the wisely directed missionary philanthropy of our departed friend, who engaged in this enterprise simply for the good of the people, never seeking to enrich himself or his family by a single penny. The anxiety, toil, and difficulty which these undertakings involved may be imagined, but can hardly be calculated.

"The soundness of his judgment, the kindness and gentleness of his spirit, associated with an integrity and fidelity which never faltered in reproof where merited, made him an invaluable friend and adviser. Sometimes he was thought to have too open an ear to complaints of poverty and distress; but this ever leaned to the right side, and his sympathy and compassion in some seasons of calamity, in dearth, and in pestilence, called forth both in England and Jamaica a measure of benevolence but for which the sufferings of multitudes would have been fearfully intensified.

"The College for the education of native ministers and teachers shared his warmest sympathies. He was united with Knibb and Burchell and others in the endeavour to institute it, and was an active member of the first managing committee in Jamaica. For many years he was its faithful secretary; and in this office he was the loving and faithful coadjutator of the president and tutors."

We have received the following tribute of affectionate remembrance of Mr. Clark, from one who knew him intimately:—

(To the Editor of the Anti Slavery Reporter.)

Dear friend, — Few men have been more trusted and beloved by their fellow-labourers, and more blessed in their work by God, than the late John Clark of Brown's Town, Jamaica. Joseph Sturge and myself were his guests at a memorable time in 1837. The most fruitful investigations then made into the working of the negro apprenticeship were conducted in his parlour, and with his discriminating aid.

He and his young wife, at that time, had not long entered on the life-work which, for more than forty years, they pursued with patience, diligence and self-denial. I will only add that the influence which Mr. Clark unconsciously exerted, through his loving, benignant tone of mind, was possibly even more influential for good than his laborious and conspicuous public services, important and most beneficial as they were.

In all his usefulness, public and private, he was admirably seconded by her who now survives as his sorrowing, but doubtless, also, rejoicing widow.

I am, respectfully, THOMAS HARVEY.

Leeds, October 1st, 1880.

October 14th, at Tottenham, SARAH FORSTER, aged 81 years.

This lady was the last of a family who, during the greater part of the present century, have all taken a deep and active interest in the busy warfare which the Anti-Slavery Society has waged against slavery and the slave-trade. Three of her brothers, including the father of the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, were for a long period among the most effective members of its committee at the time that its energies were concentrated in securing the extinction of West Indian slavery.

# COUNT DELLA SALA AND DR. DUTRIEUX.

WE regret to learn that the announcement made in our last issue (page 87) that Dr. Dutrieux had been appointed assistant Slave-Trade Commissioner under Count Della Sala, was premature. We are informed that the Belgian explorer, who had only accepted temporary and non-official duties in aid of the suppression of the slave-trade, gave up those duties so soon as he found that they must end at Assiout.

This resolution entirely accords with the views expressed by Colonel Gordon, in a letter which we publish in another column, that the head-quarters of the Commission for the putting down the slave-trade ought not to be at a spot only 300 miles from Cairo, and nearly 3,000 miles from some of the scenes of the slave hunts.

Dr. Dutrieux has returned to Alexandria to continue his medical career, which he had given up for a time to carry out explorations in Central Africa!

Before returning to his former avocations he was anxious to give another proof of his devotion to the Anti-Slavery cause, and in the interests of the poor slaves we deeply deplore his withdrawal from the Commission undertaken by the Egyptian Government—a Commission of whose energy or success we certainly cannot yet feel very sanguine.

#### MEMORIAL TO CLARKSON.

The erection of a public monument to perpetuate the self sacrificing labours of Thos. Clarkson as the advocate of slave emancipation, was inaugurated on Monday, 25th Oct., by Mr. Algernon Peckover, who laid the first stone of a handsome memorial to be erected at Wisbech. Thomas Clarkson was born in that town in 1760. The memorial will be a statue, with inscriptions and bas-reliefs, designed by the late Sir Gilbert Scott, R.A., and will cost £2,000, of which £600 is still required.

## THE GREAT CYCLONE IN JAMAICA.

THE Gleaner of 25th August, contains full reports of the sad havoc caused by the great storm of 18th August, which raged over the greater portion of the eastern half of the island. From this and other sources we annex a few details, hoping that many kind friends in England may feel disposed to send assistance to their brethren in Jamaica.

Any funds entrusted to our care shall be duly forwarded to the proper quarter.

# ONE NIGHT'S HAVOC.

"No sooner have we fairly obliterated the traces of one misfortune than we find ourselves confronted on every hand by the awful ruin of the storm of Wednesday night. We fear that since the floods of 1879 required a liberal outflow from public and private purses in aid of the suffering poor, the hurricane of 1880 will be the cause of another demand on benevolence and charity. Unfortunately rich and poor have alike lost heavily on this occasion.

" In the histories of our beautiful island are recorded many severe dispensations of Providence, in the shape of storms, floods, pestilences, invasions, agricultural and commercial depressions, but we question whether any previous twelve months can exhibit such a tale of woe and disaster as the period August, 1879, and August, 1880, including as it does the October floods and the cyclone of last week. Without any desire to exaggerate the harrowing and heartrending details that pour in upon us from every quarter, we must put upon record now our strong conviction that for hundreds of the country people starvation impends unless work and food are furnished without delay.

"Chapelton was visited on Wednesday evening with one of the most violent tornadoes ever yet experienced this side of the island. It rained all day and at about six o'clock p.m. it commenced blowing from a northerly direction changing off into a north-westerly, and continued with all its force and severity until two o'clock. At nine o'clock the full force of the wind was felt carrying before it trees of large size, snapping them like reeds, uprooting cocoanuts, mangoes, and akies, laying waste provision fields; corn, cane, coffee, plantains, and bananas have been utterly destroyed. The Market sheds and clerks' office are now lying a perfect wreck, although one of these buildings has lately been erected at a cost of nearly £400, and was a great acquisition to the poor people who visited it. Several small tenements have been gutted or blown down. Such was the violence between eleven and twelve c'clock that many families were preparing for the worst and ready to leave the houses, fearing momently that they would have been blown awav.

"From what I can learn the peasantry in the mountains have suffered much in the loss of their provision fields and houses. Scarcity of ground provisions has been severely felt of late; this unfortunate visitation will add another feature to our hardships. The mango season assisted the poor people considerably; it is now over and their provision fields destroyed: a sorry prospect for some months to come.

"The coffee crop is not yet ready, their only support, and one half of the unfit berries have been blown away and destroyed. Sad and gloomy this is."

Another account states that :-

"The morning of this day, August 19th, dawns upon a scene of ruin and desolation as fearful as those which marked the 'floods' of recent date. Woodford Church is a mere mass of shapeless ruin on the ground. Craighton Church also is down; so also are parts of Woodford parsonage, Bardowie, Ropley, and Strawberry Hill. A great many 'houses' of the hapless peasantry are completely blown down, and others unroofed. The poor people truly need now all the kindly pity and substantial help that Christian philanthropy can yield them. They were already suffering from scarcity of provisions, and now famine itself, or something terribly near it, seems staring them in the face. The provision grounds have been laid waste, and the very mangoes that had

for some time been quite a dependence, are all blown to the earth. The sick, and the young children, were indeed in a pitiable state last night!-Many poor homeless creatures are glad to take the offered shelter of Woodford schoolroom; some seem half-crazed by the suddenness of the stroke, and careless as to what may become of them. The distress and bewilderment are such as it is truly pitiful to see; let us hope that the principles of Christians will be found strong enough to stand that . very severe test,-the money test: for this is a case in which something more than a sigh and a kindly word is demanded of us. Shall the Lord have to say to many of us in the day which may not be as far off as we are apt to think,-'I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat; thirsty, and ye gave me no drink;' shelterless, and ye surrendered no atom of your comfort to minister to your Lord in the persons of these helpless creatures?

"But there will be,—we doubt not,—many hearts and hands opened to aid, at this crisis, the many who so need such help. The bleaker climate and more exposed situations, seem to make the state of things around us worse than we can suppose them to be elsewhere; but the effects of the storm must have extended far and wide. The night of the 18th of August is one that cannot soon be forgotten.

"It was a choice between being exposed to all the fury of the storm outside, or crushed by falling beams."

#### DESTRUCTION IN THE INTERIOR.

A tutor in the Calabar College thus describes the desolation he had witnessed:—

"I have just returned from the hills in the St. Joseph's district of St. Andrews, after a most terrible night. The desolation and destruction are frightful. There is hardly a house of the peasant class standing. The distress of scores is dreadful. Hundreds of houses, and thousands of acres of crops are clean blown down. Even the forests and 'ruinates' are either level with the ground or hold their ghastly trunks branchless in witness of the fury of the storm. There is hardly a sound house, or a yam, banana, or canepiece left of some six hundred houses and ten thousand acres of crops. Mango trees fill the roads. The settlements most destroyed are 'Free Town,' 'Bardowie,' 'New Grange,' 'Prospect,' 'Hermitage,' 'Spring,' 'Southward Hill,' 'Bowden Hill,' 'Norbrook,' 'Woodford,'

'Industry,' and 'Jack's Hill '- all within ten miles of King's House. The loss of churches and schools is very sad indeed, 'Creighton,' 'Woodford,' 'Wilford,' 'Bowden Hill,' and 'Jack's Hill,' are in ruin. Thus the Rev. Mr. King will need help from every friend of the Church. What is to be done? As I write, and as you read, hundreds are crouching on the ground under mere heaps of trash, their lares and penates buried in the rubbish. The able-bodied are a hearty set, and are repairing their houses. But the impassable roads! How long will they cut off supplies and market traffic? Though assisted by several bands of men I have had to-day to desert the road and scramble through coffee patches and grounds. Not so much from the cyclone, as little rain accompanied it, as from the fact that week after week and month after month, the most needful and important repairs are delayed in this St. Joseph's district. The able-bodied will fight through their losses, but what of women, and aged and dependent, with house and shelter, and crop all lost? They are in desperate need of provisions and clothing now, but what of the months which must run before another crop ? If help to build better houses, help for real cases of injury and distress, could be speedily given, help in instant repair of roads and in consideration as to taxes, the fearful effects of the storm will work off in time. No words can describe the fearful perils of last night! But there is mercy! Not a single life was lost."

Our valued correspondent, the Rev. W. Teall, secretary of the Jamaica Baptist Union, gives a graphic report of his own adventures during that memorable night, and of the sad losses he and others have sustained in the Annotto Bay District. He thus writes, under date August 24th, 1880:—

"I can send only a few lines by this mail just to let you know that through mercy we are alive, though houseless. The awful cyclone of last Wednesday night has nearly stripped this house, and quite unroofed the cottage, so that Mrs. T. and I can only get shelter by day or night under the small portion of this roof not carried away. I have directed that a copy of the Gleaner with an account of the storm be sent to each of you, so that you may have some idea of it; but no description can give an adequate idea of it.

"Wednesday, the 18th, was a gusty, rainy

day. In the afternoon the weather increased, especially after four o'clock. By nine p.m., it began to strip roofs, and throw down trees, fences, buildings, &c., and by two a.m., the desolation was complete. Mrs. T. and I had not left our bedroom more than ten minutes when it was struck by lightning, and the end wall fell in with an awful crash, destroying the furniture and exposing the room to the fury of the storm. Both bedrooms and half the hall have had the roofing stripped. About midnight we abandoned the house, and with difficulty got to the chapel for shelter, but that had been struck open, and the whole south end of the three roofs entirely stripped, while some of the windows were torn out and hurled along the building. The houses destroyed exceed in number those remaining. In some districts not one in six is standing, and at Thomasfield, I am told, not one in twenty out of the houses of the people. But the worst is the destruction of all fruit trees and growing crops, rendering famine imminent. The land looks as if fire had run through it. There have been deaths from falling houses and trees, but the number, I am glad to say, is not great. I have not heard of more than seven or eight in this district. Clonmel Chapel is down. Tryall Hill new school-room and teacher's cottage quite destroyed. £500 would not repair the damage done to my buildings alone. Large numbers of chapels and churches are reported either destroyed or greatly injured. The destruction of food is the greatest calamity, and if God does not raise up help for us in a few weeks we shall have famine."

# THE QUEEN OF MADAGASCAR AND THE MOZAMBIQUES.

(To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.)

DEAR SIR,—Most of your readers are aware that no subject of Queen Ranavalona
II. can hold "Mozambiques" \* as slaves.

Breaking the bonds of at least 50,000 enslaved Africans was a grand stroke—the result of the enlightened policy of the Christian Queen and her Prime Minister, Rainilaiarivony. The once-oppressed children of "the dark Continent" have not only been set at liberty and allowed to hold land and enjoy the full privileges of freedom; but one of 'their number has just been

elevated to the dignity of a Crown Officer. This is another proof that the Queen has at heart the well-being of the Mozambiques, as well as of her own people.

There is one other subject upon which I should like to say a word,

It is well known amongst Europeans and others living in the islands north of Madagascar that many Mozambiques are still imported into this latter island, and some have even gone so far as to suggest that they are imported with the connivance of the Hovas or ruling race, with whom we have a treaty prohibiting such importation; but such is not the case. The Mozambiques who are now brought to Madagascar are taken to Sakalava or other ports which are not under the dominion of the Hovas; and I am quite sure that no new Mozambiques are now brought to those ports which are under the jurisdiction of the Queen.

The Mozambiques taken to the Sakalava country are many of them brought down through the Somali country south of Guardafui and thence shipped to those parts of Madagascar which are under the rule of the Sakalava tribes.

Yours respectfully, ABRAHAM KINGDON.

# THE STORY OF A SLAVER.

A SHORT time ago the French police arrested a man who had been condemned in contumaciam to five years' imprisonment for having taken part in the slavetrade; and he was tried for the second time at Rouen this week. The facts of the case as they came out at the trial are curious, and may be briefly summarised as follows. In 1860 the captain of a merchant vessel, at Havre, entered into partnership with a shipowner, at Havannah, for the purchase of negroes, and a vessel called the \* \* was freighted by them, ostensibly for the purpose of conveying coolies from Macao to China, but in reality to carry a number of negroes from the Guinea Coast, where the owners purchased 850 of them for a sum of £5,600, or rather more than £6 a-head. The \* \* met with very bad weather on the way to Havannah, and more than a fourth of the negroes died, only 607 being landed at Havannah, where they were sold for an average of £140 each. This produced a net profit of about £80,000,

Mozambiques are imported Africans of both sexes.

which, after the two partners had taken half for their share, was divided among the ship's crew. The \* \* \* was burned at sea after the transaction had been completed, in the hope that all trace of discovery might thereby be destroyed; but the matter was brought to light, and several of the persons simplicated in it were rited at the Rouen assizes in 1861, and sentenced to

various terms of imprisonment. The subject of this notice was one of those who succeeded in escaping, and the result of the trial which occurred the other day has been to acquit him, the jury being of opinion that the accused had already been sufficiently punished by twenty years' exile for the subordinate part he had taken in the matter!—Fife Free Press

# THE "ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER."

## NOTICE.

On and after the 1st January, 1881, it is intended to issue the Anti-Slavery Reporter once a month, instead of bi-monthly. The size will be reduced one-half, and the expense will not be materially increased, except for postages and labour. It is hoped that by a more frequent issue, and with less matter, the public will be better able to find time to make themselves acquainted with the still crying evils of Slavery and the Slave-trade, which it is the object of this journal to expose and denounce.

By the cash account for 1879, given in last issue, it will be seen that the cost of printing and posting the *Reporter* exceeds the whole of the ordinary subscriptions and donations to the Anti-Slavery Society, leaving the Office expenses and other necessary charges entirely dependent upon legacies and other uncertain sources.

About 1,750 copies of the *Reporter* are sent out, and supposing that only 1,200 of these were paid for at the fixed price of five shillings per annum, there would be an income of three hundred pounds from the *Reporter* alone, besides the larger subscriptions from friends of the cause.

As it is thought that many persons, who would not care to see their names entered as subscribers to the general funds of the Society for so small a sum as five shillings, would nevertheless be glad to contribute that insignificant amount towards the expenses of printing the Reporter, it is now proposed to open a separate fund, called the "Reporter Fund," and it is hoped that all those friends who receive that "periodical," and who do not already subscribe towards the Society's funds, will kindly forward a remittance of five shillings, which will entitle them to one copy of the Reporter every month throughout the year. No one will feel this to be any burden, and if all will do it the Reporter may be made self-supporting, instead of being, as at present, a tax upon the resources of the Society.

On this subject the late WILLIAM ALLEN, F.R.S., thus wrote to a relative of the present editor, under date July 10th, 1828:—

"I wish that thou, and all our Friends who are labouring to promote the abolition of slavery, would regularly read the Anti-Slavery Reporter. It would furnish you with arguments in favour of the cause, and in answer to objections. . . . Get everybody to read regularly the Anti-Slavery Reporter."

This advice may be seasonably repeated in 1880. The printing-press now takes precedence of the old arts of oratory, and will probably do so more and more. Surely the journal which, however feebly, still advocates the rights of the poor slave, ought not to be left to die of inanition.

POST OFFICE ORDERS, OF HALFPENNY POSTAGE STAMPS, may be forwarded to the Editor, 55, New Broad Street, E.C.

Advertisements will be received for inscrtion on moderate terms.

LONDON: Printed by BARRETT, SONS & Co., Crown Works, 21, Seething Lane, and published at the Offices of the Society, 55, New Broad Street, in the Parish of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, in the City of London.—NOVEMBER, 1880.